Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 264181

22-12
ORIGIN SS-05

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /006 R

66622
DRAFTED BY: S/S-O:PJOHNSON
APPROVED BY: S/S-O:PJOHNSON
---------- 039187
O 070531Z NOV 75
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 264181

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO RABAT, USUN NEW YORK, NOUAKCHOTT, ALGIERS FROM MADRID NOV 6:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 7787

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SS, SP, MO, AL, MA, UN
SUBJ: SPANISH SAHARA: MOROCCAN COMMUNICATION TO GOS

1. I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM FOREIGN OFFICE WHERE I HAD BEEN SUMMONED BY UNDER SECRETARY ROVIRA ON CORTINA'S INSTRUCTIONS. CORTINA HIMSELF WAS THEN MEETING IN ZARZUELA PALACE WITH PRINCE AND WITH PRIME MINISTER.

2. ROVIRA SAID THAT CORTINA HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO PASS ON TO ME THE FOLLOWING. AT APPROXIMATELY 7:15 EVENING, NOVEMBER 6, THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN RABAT HAD TELEPHONED THAT HE HAD JUST FINISHED A MEETING WITH MINISTER BENHIMA WHO IS THE ONLY MOROC-CAN MINISTER IN RABAT AND WHO IS COORDINATING THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTIVITIES THERE. BENHIMA HAD MADE WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS AN "UNOFFICIAL" COMMUNICATION WITH THE REQUEST THAT IT BE CONVEYED TO THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT. THE COMMUNICATION WAS AS FOLLOWS:
(A) MARCH WILL CONTINUE ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, UNLESS THERE IS A CLEAR INDICATION THAT A NEW ROUND OF CONVERSATIONS WILL TAKE PLACE BETWEEN MOROCCO AND SPAIN.
(B) THE PREVIOUS AGREEMENT FOR THE MARCH TO STOP IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 264181

NO-MAN'S LAND (APPROXIMATELY 10 KILOMETERS) HAD LOST ITS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

VALUE BECAUSE OF THE PUBLICITY WHICH SPANISH GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN IT.
(C) UNLESS THERE IS A CLEAR POSSIBILITY OF A DIALOGUE, THE MARCH MUST CONTINUE. THE PROBLEM FOR MOROCCO IS THAT IF IF IF STOPPED WITHOUT PROMISE OF A DIALOGUE, THE MARCH WILL BE TURNED AGAINST RABAT.
(D) FROM THE FIRST MOMENT, MOROCCO HAS CONSIDERED NEGATIVELY THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN MOROCCAN AND SPANISH ARMIES. IF THERE IS NO PREVIOUS AGREEMENT TO AVOID CONFRONTATION, MOROCCO ESTIMATES CASULTIES WOULD BE ABOUT 30,000.
(E) IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO AVOID INTERVENTION OF ROYAL MOROCCAN FORCES. IN SUCH EVENT, THE TWO COUNTRIES WOULD BECOME BELPGERENTS.
(F) UN INTERVENTION IS TO BE DISCARDED COMPLETELY AND MOROCCO WILL NOT CONSIDER ANY PLAN WITHIN THE UN FRAMEWORK, INCLUDING WALDHEIM'S PROPOSAL.
(G) MOROCCO ADMITS THAT SOME FRIEND, SUCH AS JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA OR FRANCE, COULD MEDIATE WITH ALL NECESSARY URGENCY. FRANCE HAS REMAINED QUIET UNTIL NOW IN ORDER TO BE AVAILABLE AT THE LAST MINUTE TO REQUEST MOROCCO TO STOP THE MARCH, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY FOR 24 HOURS, SO THAT BOTH SIDES COULD RECONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF A SOLUTION.
(H) EARLIER TODAY, MOROCCO HAD THOUGHT OF SENDING AL JATRI (SAHARAN LEADER RECENTLY DEFECTED TO MOROCCO) AND SEVERAL OTHER SAHARANS TO MADRID TO PRESENT SAHARAN VIEWPOINT AND TO DETERMINE WHETHER THROUGH THIS CHANNEL A SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND. MOROCCO WAS STILL DISPOSED TO SEND THIS GROUP TO MADRID IMMEDPATELY IF GOS THOUGHT USEFUL.
(I) IF SPWNISH GOVERNMENT WAS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE ABOVE PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION, THEN ONLY THING MOROCCO COULD DO WAS TO DO ITS BEST TO PROTECT SPANISH COMMUNITY AND PROPERTIES IN MOROCCO FROM MOB ACTION.

(3) THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR IN HIS COMMENT TO FOREIGN OFFICE SWID THAT IF ABOVE SITUATION DEVELOPED NOVEMBER 7, BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WOULD BE IN-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 264181

EVITABLE AND HE ASKED FOR INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHICH COUNTRY WOULD REPRESENT SPANISH INTERESTS. AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT HE AND BENHIMA AGREED TO MEET LATER THIS EVENING AND THAT IN THE MEANWHILE BENHIMA WOULD REPORT TO KING HASSAN.

(4) ROVIRA SAID THAT CORTINA WISHED US TO KNOW THAT IN SPITE OF MOROCCAN THREATS, POSITION OF SPANISH GOVERN-

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

MENT REMAINS AS BEFORE. THAT POSITION IS THAT THE SUB-
STANCE OF THE QUESTION OF THE SAHARA'S FUTURE MUST BE
SETTLED IN THE UN FRAMEWORK. IF THE MOROCCANS CONTINUE
THEIR MARCH, SPAIN AS THE ADMINISTERING POWER WILL USE
ALL MEANS AT ITS DISPOSAL, INCLUDING ARMED FORCE, TO
PROTECT THE TERRITORY.

5. ROVIRA ADDED THAT THE SPANISH UNREP HAD BEEN IN-
STRUCTED TO USE ABOVE INFORMATION WITH SECURITY COUNCIL
PRESIDENT OR IN THE SESSION IF HE WERE ALLOWED TO SPEAK.

6. I TOLD ROVIRA THAT I WOULD PASS THIS ALL ON IMMEDI-
ATELY TO THE DEPARTMENT. HOWEVER, I ASKED HIM WHAT HE
MADE OF BENHIMA'S REFERENCE TO THIS COMMUNICATION AS AN
"UNOFFICIAL" ONE. ROVIRA SAID THIS HAD, OF COURSE, BEEN
NOTED, BUT SPANISH GOVERNMENT DID NOT BELIEVE IT COULD
IGNORE THE COMMUNICATION.

7. I ALSO STRESSED TO ROVIRA THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT
TO KNOW WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SECOND ENCOUNTER BETWEEN
BENHIMA AND SPANISH AMBASSADOR SINCE THIS MIGHT ALTER
THE SCENARIO. BY THE TIME I LEFT THE FOREIGN OFFICE AT
11:30 P.M., THERE STILL HAD BEEN NO REPORT ON A SECOND
MEETING, BUT ROVIRA PROMISED THAT HE WOULD LET ME KNOW.

8. ROVIRA SAID THAT AS FAR AS HE KNEW, GOS WAS NOT CON-
TEMPLATING FRENCH MEDIATION.

9. COMMENT: ROVIRA DID NOT ASK US TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT
ABOVE AND ADMITS THAT BENHIMA COMMUNICATION MAY BE
ANOTHER PIECE IN WAR OF NERVES TO GET SPANISH BACK TO
BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. OBVIOUSLY, SPANISH WOULD PRE-
LFER NOT TO USE THEIR ARMED FORCES, BUT I THINK IT WOULD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 264181

BE A MISTAKE NECESSARILY TO ASSUME THEY WILL NOT.
STABLER UNQUOTE
KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE264181
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:PJOHNSON
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750387-0320
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751167/aaaachwi.tel
Line Count: 157
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 MAY 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <31 OCT 2003 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPANISH SAHARA: MOROCCAN COMMUNICATION TO GOS
TAGS: PFOR, PBOR, SS, SP, MO, AL, MA, UN
To: PARIS
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006